HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I ENTER INTO NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY. I AM FOR JUSTICE, IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY, AND ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE LIVING GOD."

VOL. 1. CONCORD, N. H. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1835. NO. 17.

HERALD OF FREEDOM.
Office, over Merrimack County Bank.

PUBLISHED BY AN ASSOCIATION OF GENTLEMEN.

JOSEPH HORACE KIMBALL, Editor.

Elbridge G. Chase, Printer.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

Quarterly Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Sept. 28, 1835.

The meeting was called to order about 4 o'clock, by the President, Joseph Southwick. Mr. Wright of Boston offered prayer. Mr. Garrison then read appropriate selections from the Bible, prefaced and followed by several striking remarks.

Mr. May, Cor. Secretary of the Society then rose and said,

As the excitement in the country on the subject of Slavery is still high and violent, I deem it proper, Mr. President, on this and on all suitable occasions, to reiterate to our fellow citizens what we have so often declared to be our sentiments and purposes.—I have therefore prepared a series of Resolutions, embodying the most important of them which I beg leave to present to the acceptance of this meeting. Let me hope, Sir, that every one present will carefully scrutinize the language of each resolution, that nothing may go out to the public as the declared sentiment of this meeting, which is not really so. There is the more need of this scrutiny, as I have made use of the language of those who are generally regarded as the opposers of our enterprise. The first resolution is in the language of our distinguished fellow citizen, Daniel Webster, in his Oration at Plymouth, 1820.

1. *Resolved*, That, as men and especially as republicans, "we are bound to maintain public liberty, and, by the examples of our own systems, to convince the world that order and law, religion and morality, the rights of conscience, the rights of persons, and the rights of property may all be preserved and secured in the most perfect manner, by a government entirely and purely elective. * * * * As far therefore as experience may show errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them; and if any practices exist, contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, within the reach of our laws or *our influence*, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and *abolish* them."

The second resolution which I offer, sir, is the same as the first Resolution passed at the great Anti-Abolition meeting in New-York, with the addition only of the words enclosed in brackets.

Resolved, "That while we maintain the rights of private judgment and of free discussion on this [the subject of slavery] as on other subjects, as recognized in the Constitution and Laws, and subject always to a strict regard to the just rights of our southern brethren, [irrespective of color,] we hold that the citizens of the North have no political right to interfere with the slavery of the Southern States, nor moral right under any circumstances to adopt violent or aggressive measures for the purpose of abolishing it."

The third Resolution, sir, is in the words of a part of the 2d resolution passed at the New-York meeting, and a part of the 2d passed at the meeting in Faneuil Hall.

Resolved, That a legal, peaceful, and temperate expression of opinions and arguments, tending to induce the partizans to the relation of slavery, to perform *their moral and social duties*, is all that can with propriety be done by individuals who do not sustain that relation;" "and that we hold in reprobation all attempts, in whatever guise they may appear, to coerce any of the United States to abolish Slavery by appeals to the passions of the slave."

The preamble to the next resolution, is in the language of Mr. Sprague, in the commencement of his inconsistent, unhappy speech at the late meeting in Faneuil Hall.

4. "We regard slavery as *a great moral and political evil*. We have been early imbued with this sentiment; and all that we have seen and all that we have heard has strengthened and deepened the conviction. We deeply deplore its existence, and, from the very core and centre of our hearts, we pray that our brethren of the South may see their way clear, by their own free will, to effect its entire abolition;" therefore,

Resolved, That it is our bounden duty to exhibit to them our views, expose to them the atrocities of the system they are upholding, urge every consideration which should induce them to abolish it; not suffer them to continue at ease in their unrighteousness, but reprove, rebuke, exhort them with all long suffering and doctrine, until they repent.

The words quoted in the next Resolution, are from the preamble to the resolutions passed at the Anti-Abolition meeting at Cambridge.

5. "The national Constitution having left to each State all the rights and powers not delegated by that instrument to all, for the good of the whole, and the right to hold slaves not having been relinquished by any State" to the government of the Union, therefore,

Resolved, That we concur in the opinion so often expressed by our opposers, that we have no power to abolish Slavery in the several States by any enactments of Congress. We concede that on matters of exclusively domestic jurisdiction, the States are separate and independent communities." "But to extend this principle so far in practice, as to prevent the discussion, among individuals, or in the public prints, of subjects, which though peculiar to the internal polity and laws of one State, may be deemed by citizens of other States to affect the character or interests of all, would be impossible without imposing restraints on the liberty of speech and of the press, which might be fatal to our republican institutions."

6. *Resolved*, That if in the language of the preamble to the resolutions of the late meeting in Faneuil Hall, "the condition of slavery finds no advocates among our citizens," if "our laws do not authorize it," if "*our principles revolt against it*," if "our citizens *will not tolerate* its existence among them"—we may confidently expect our fellow citizens of this metropolis, one and all, to present their united and earnest petition to the Congress of the United States for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

The preamble to the next Resolution, sir, is in the words of a memorial to Congress, drawn up by a Committee consisting of Daniel Webster, George Blake, Josiah Quincy, James T. Austin, and John Gallison, in behalf of the citizens of Boston, and presented to Congress in 1819.

7. "Commerce in slaves, since the year 1808, being as much subject to the regulation of Congress as any other commerce, if it should see fit to enact that no slaves should ever be sold from one State to another, it is not perceived how its constitutional right could be questioned;" therefore,

Resolved, That petitions ought to be presented to Congress, praying for the immediate abolition of the American Slave Trade, especially that which is carried on in and through the District of Columbia.

8. *Resolved*, That the cause of liberty and human rights is common to the whole family of man. It is not merely a sectional or national concern. It knows not, it regards not geographical boundaries, or political divisions. Wherever man may be oppressed, there is a subject, for which the philanthropist of every country, every clime has a right, nay it is his duty, to plead.

The foregoing resolutions having been read together, were then presented separately to the consideration of the meeting, and were unanimously adopted.

After the passage of the last, Mr. May said, it will be perceived by you, Mr. President, that in this resolution there is reference to a beloved individual, our most able fellow laborer, whose name does not appear in it. But I am not content with this. We owe to George Thompson an explicit and strong expression of our obligations to him, for his unwearied and invaluable services in the cause, to which we are pledged. I am heartily ashamed of my fellow countrymen, when I hear them objecting to Mr. Thompson's generous labors, that he is a foreigner. Ample reason, to be sure, is this for closing their ears and their hearts against his thrilling appeals for our oppressed countrymen! He is a foreigner! Sir, when I think of his career of public admiration, success and glory in England, and contrast it with the obloquy, hatred, and outrage, to which he is subjecting himself for the same cause in our country, I cannot find language in which to frame a resolution, that shall suitably express the love and gratitude I think we owe him. I move you, sir, that a committee be appointed to prepare a resolution to this effect.

The motion was seconded, and Messrs. William L. Garrison and John Gulliver were appointed. They retired, and soon after reported the following, which was unanimously adopted.

While they were absent Mr. Thompson addressed the meeting in his usual happy manner.

Resolved, That we again desire to bless God, that he has permitted our dearly beloved brother GEORGE THOMPSON to visit our shores on an errand of Christian love and mercy; that we rejoice, not so much that he has thus far escaped the fate of the early martyrs, as that he has been enabled, thro' the power of a divine faith, to maintain unshrinkingly his testimony against the crying sin of this country; that we regard him with inexpressible feelings of love, gratitude, and respect, as a philanthropist and a Christian—and bear testimony to the gentleness, the purity, and the moral sublimity of his character; that we deem the cruel defamation and persecution which he is encountering from a professedly Christian people on account of the accident of his foreign origin, as a practical condemnation of all their foreign missionary enterprizes; and that they are solemnly bound, by every precept and obligation of the gospel, to give him their sympathy and countenance, and to bid him a hearty "God speed" in his benevolent mission.

The Truth Honestly Confessed.

In a recent number of our paper, speaking of the excitement which the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society had created at the South, we avowed the belief, that the influence of those publications upon the *consciences of slaveholders* was the *real* ground of alarm; and that the North was called upon to suppress them, not as was pretended, because they were calculated to excite the slaves to insurrection, but because it was apprehended that, if they were allowed a free circulation at the South, many masters would be convinced by them of the wickedness of slaveholding and led to emancipate; and that, by the example and influence of such individuals, the whole system of slavery would be gradually undermined. Little did we expect, that this opinion would be corroborated by the confession of a man—a slaveholder—who has done more than any other individual to excite the fears of the South on this subject. But so it is. Duff Green, the file-leader of the nullification party, and who has been zealously laboring for years to excite the prejudices of the South against the North on the question of slavery, now frankly acknowledges that the South has no reason to be alarmed at the influence of Anti-Slavery publications upon the slaves, and that the real ground of fear is what we have stated it to be, viz: *the gradual operation of abolition doctrines upon slaveholders themselves*. This frank acknowledgement—this honest confession of the truth—will be found in the following extracts from recent numbers of the United States Telegraph, which is conducted by the individual before referred to. We place them on record, as furnishing the best possible evidence of the salutary influence of Anti-Slavery Societies; only premising that we have underscored some of the most important words and phrases:

"We are of those who believe the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. *We do not believe that the abolitionists intend*, NOR COULD THEY IF THEY WOULD, *excite the slaves to insurrection*. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear *from the organised action upon the* CONSCIENCES and fears of the slave-holders themselves; from the insinuation of their dangerous heresies, into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the CONSCIENCES of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object. Preparatory to this, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slave-holding States with the belief that slavery is a "sin against God;" that the "national compact" involves the non-slaveholders in that sin: and that it is their duty "to toil and suffer," that our country may be delivered from what they term *"its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse."*

It is not enough for them [the abolitionists] to believe that slavery has been entailed upon us by our forefathers. *We must meet the question in all its bearings. We must SATISFY THE CONSCIENCES*, we *must allay the fears of our own people*. We *must satisfy them that slavery is of itself* RIGHT—*that it is* NOT A SIN AGAINST GOD—*that it is* NOT AN EVIL, *moral or political*. To do this, WE MUST DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY ITSELF. We must examine its bearings upon the moral, political, and religious institutions of our country. In this way, and this way only, can we prepare our own people to defend their own institutions.

We hold that our sole reliance is on ourselves; *that we have most to fear from the gradual operation on* PUBLIC OPINION *among ourselves*, and that those are the most insidious and dangerous invaders of our rights and interests, who coming to us in the guise of friendship, endeavor to persuade us that slavery is a sin, a curse, an evil. It is not true that the South sleeps on a volcano—we are fearful of murder and pillage. *The greatest cause of apprehension is, from the operation of the morbid sensibility which appeals to the* CONSCIENCES *of our own people*, and would make them the voluntary instruments of their own ruin.

The friends of liberty, and the advocates of a limited government in this country, have to meet the question boldly. The question of slavery itself, has to be met. *If slavery is a sin, an evil, a curse*, THEN IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY GOOD CITIZEN TO UNITE IN DEVISING WAYS AND MEANS OF ABOLITION. We are not *satisfied* with any expression of public opinion in any of the Northern States, which shall assume that it is either a sin, a curse, or an evil."

We hope that those of our fellow-citizens who have thought the Anti-Slavery publications "*incendiary*," and who have so often told us that the discussion of the question of slavery at the North can do no good, will read and ponder well the foregoing extracts. Let us not be told, after this confession from a slaveholder of the influence which discussion here will exert upon southern *consciences*, that our efforts only tend to rivet the fetters of the slave. It is worse than ridiculous to pretend, that a strong public sentiment at the North against slavery, such as Anti-Slavery Societies are endeavoring to create, would do no good. The voice of a few individuals, calling upon the South to repent of her sin, has produced a mighty effect. Oppressors are alarmed, and knowing that they cannot resist the march of liberal principles in any other way, they are calling upon the North to *put down discussion by law*. What then may we not expect, when the united public sentiment of the Free States shall be brought to bear upon the consciences of the South? The Boston Commercial Gazette, one of the most reckless and bitter of all the papers opposed to abolitionists, confesses what would be the result. Hear its language:

"Free discussion on the subject of slavery! 'Aye' as Petruchio says, 'there's the villainy.' The mischief all lies in a nut-shell. A *free discussion* on this subject leads at once to ABOLITION and EMANCIPATION."

And the Gazette is right. The sun is not more sure to dispel the darkness of the night, than is free discussion in an intelligent and virtuous community to destroy so odious a system as that of slavery.

The editor of the Telegraph is about to publish a *pro*-slavery paper to counteract the efforts of the abolitionists. He will endeavor to convince the community that slavery is right, and to "satisfy the consciences" which the Anti-Slavery publications disturb. He asks of the advocates of emancipation "a candid and patient hearing." He shall have it. We hope he will send to the north a large quantity of his papers. We will not rob the mail to destroy them—we will not even be angry. We will only ask the privilege of paying him off with arguments and facts calculated to convince him and the whole South that slavery is wrong. We lay ourselves open to conviction. We will read candidly all that he and his friends may say on the subject. Will the South do the same by us?—*Liberator*.

The British West Indies.

In Antigua 30,000 slaves were made unconditionally free on the first of August, 1834. On the fourth of August, 1835, the Weekly Register, of that Island, a press not predisposed to approve the change, speaks thus—"In the course of the lapsed year of freedom, there has been an unquestionable improvement in the habits of the people.—The wandering spirit has evaporated; they have discovered that there has been much less leisure or spare time in domestic service than in agriculture—less certainty in desultory employments such as fishing, portering and boating, &c., and the comforts of 'home,' begin to be duly appreciated. The employing and superintending class, too, have gradually acquired the art of governing those as freemen, whom they once commanded as bondsmen, and the practice of task-work which is becoming almost universal has given the threefold advantage of stimulus to exertion, despatch of important work, and leisure to the laborer for domestic and other employment. This now extends, we understand, even to weeding; and with the increasing use of the plough and other machinery, which save a great deal of the severer tillage so distasteful in the culture of the sugar cane, we may hope for a prospering colony."

In Jamaica, where the apprenticeship system was introduced, there was a manifest determination on the part of the planters that it should not succeed. They commenced by deceiving, worrying and abusing the apprentices. They not only predicted insurrection, but by a most illegal use of their old authority did all in their power to excite it. The apprentices, however, as soon as they had learned what were their legal rights, were careful "to go by the law." They were so provokingly quiet, patient, peaceful and industrious in the hours of legal labor, that they seem at last to have gained a complete victory over their oppressors.

The planters predicted that the apprentices would not work for wages in their own time, and, as the time legally allowed to the master was insufficient, that the crop could not be gathered. A committee of the Jamaica House of Assembly went through a mock examination of evidence on the subject, and on the 13th of November, 1831, reported the plan a complete *failure*. They state, "that the new system is not succeeding; that forty and a half hours of labor in the week are inadequate to enable the cultivation of the country to be continued; that the negroes are performing no fair proportion of work, even during that limited number of hours, which [illegible] as sugar cultivation can afford to pay; that idleness and contempt of authority are daily becoming more apparent and alarming: that the pimento crop the only article which has come to maturity since the first of August, has been to a great extent lost to the proprietors, from the impossibility of getting it gathered in; that the coffee crop now commencing is likely to share a similar fate, and that the prospect to the proprietors of sugar estates is still more desperate, in the certainty that their canes must rot upon the ground, from the absolute impossibility of manufacturing the juice into sugar during the limited number of hours which the factories can be kept in operation."

This report was designed to defeat the abolition act, by driving the British government to restore the old authority, under the name of a local magistracy, whose business it should be, not only to "preserve order and repress crime," but to "enforce industry" in the apprentices' own time—to force them to work for wages. This well concerted scheme however met with small success. The government proceeded to increase the special magistracy, and to afford to the planters full security for all that labor to which they were by law entitled. The sugar crop came on, and the planters were brought to see that the game they were playing upon the poor apprentices, if continued, would only result in their own destruction. Self-interest dictated a change, and the planters were now fain to make a *bona fide* offer of pay for extra labor. Their tune came down from '*you shall work without wages*,' to 'will you work for 2s. 6d. per day?' The alacrity with which the apprentices came forward at the clink of the shillings was overwhelming. They were no sooner convinced that the money would be theirs, than they offered more work than the planters were willing to pay for, at a great reduction from the first offer. We are informed by subsequent letters that on some estates they are working in their own time at 1d. per hour! In the British "Companion to the Newspaper," published by the "Society for the diffusion of political knowledge," are ample quotations from letters written from Jamaica, during the progress of the sugar crop. Says one of the writers, whom we take to be a special magistrate, "Now that they see the wages paid, their apparent indifference has been every where thrown off, and on some estates there are offers of service beyond what is required. The truth is, they were told at ——, in an unhappy moment, that they should be made to take off the crop without wages, and this impression at once spread throughout the district; so that nothing but the fact of their seeing a system of wages actually introduced could satisfy them that it would be a reality. True it was that when the people were at first told laconically, by the overseer, that the mill must be kept about till eight o'clock, they said, 'no night spell.' Having heard of this, and knowing the general good disposition of the people, I went on the estate on the day the mill was put about, and called them together: they assembled in the most orderly manner, and listened to my address with a degree of quiet attention and respect scarcely to be exceeded; its conclusion they one and all said, my speech was 'good,' and they would do as I [illegible]. They went to their work, and have since carried it on with a steady, persevering, diligent manner." Notwithstanding the testimony given before the House of Assembly's committee, in which there was an almost unanimous prediction that the sugar crop could not possibly be gathered, the Governor has since received assurances, from all parts of the Island, like the following: "As the mills are all now about, I believe I may now safely affirm that there is not a single instance, throughout the whole district, in which any doubt is now entertained of getting off the crop." "At Golden Grove they potted last week either sixteen or seventeen hogsheads; at Holland estate nearly the same quantity. And I have the managers' own testimony, on both estates, that they never saw the people either work better or behave better. After all that your lordship has heard, I deem these facts worth communicating. For [illegible] my lord, with respect to Golden Grove: [illegible] the statement is so gratifying as to require nothing less than the best authority, the attorney himself now informs me, that he finds they shall have potted fully as much by Christmas as they made by the same period last year." Another writer states, "We are making at the rate of twelve hogsheads a week. At this rate we shall take off a crop equal to the last, viz: 430 hogsheads, say in thirty-three weeks.—The wages given in that time will amount to 1600*l.* sterling, an expenditure equivalent, as your lordship knows, to a deficiency of about ten hogsheads. When we consider, my lord, this outlay will be more than met by the *interest* on the compensation money, that we may confidently expect an improvement in the quality of the sugar made from the abolition of night work, and that the quantity lost by plunder will be diminished. When we reflect, also, upon the number of able laborers who were converted into hospital patients, by exposure to the night air, under the former system, and consider that this evil is (if not removed) materially reduced by the new regulations. When, my lord, we give to such considerations the attention they deserve, does it not appear, provided the change is fairly met, the condition of the proprietor is rather improved than otherwise, as far as relates to the time of the apprenticeship system?" * * * * "The result of their admirable exertions in in sugar making up to this period is, that they have actually potted ninety hogsheads, which is five or six more than last year, the mill having, on each occasion, been put about on precisely the same day. November

The Christmas holidays passed over in all the Colonies with universal good order. In Antigua the customary military guard was wholly dispensed with, and up to this hour no disturbance had been heard of, which did not plainly originate in some effort of the planters to exercise the old authority.—Here, then, is a perfect demonstration of the *safety* of the speediest possible abolition of slavery. If such abolition has been safe when the masters were coerced to it, what would it be, a fortiori, where the masters should voluntarily decree it? —*A. S. Mag.*

From the Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine.

Advance of the Abolition Cause.

It is a sentiment in which we think a majority of the community concur that the murderous threats of the south and the violent denunciations of the north, will but increase the number of the abolitionists. How they will hasten the period of universal emancipation, is not so clearly seen. A careful attention to the progress of events, in the light of the past, will show, we think, that a speedy change in the relation of the planters to their laborers must result.

The labors of the abolitionists have broken up that middle ground—that bridge over the gulf, from sin to righteousness,—on which the defenders of slavery have hitherto safely stood. The mass of slaveholders are driven to the desperate position of asserting the entire justice of slavery as a system—or *in the abstract*, as it is termed. They now denounce equally all who will not stand with them—all who cherish the faintest wish or hope, that the "foul blot," "the curse," not to say the "the sin," may one day be removed. Now, if it can be of any avail to array against slavery the public opinion of the non-slaveholding world, it is a manifest advantage to have driven the supporters of the system to a stand where they must be exposed to its unmitigated reprobation. As the power of public opinion is that by which the abolitionists hope to effect their object, it is plain that the present attitude of the south is rather an important victory. Nor is the importance of this victory at all diminished by the loud expression of public opinion against the [illegible] [illegible] and resolutions of the immediate abolitionists. Let the people of the north be worthy of approbation for the course which they have pursued, and they will have been [illegible]. Let us place ourselves for a moment in the shoes of a southern slaveholder—a man of [illegible] habits, for there are such—and look at those things which he sees. What are they? [illegible] ascribe to our [illegible] They conclusively [illegible] deprecate their measures, but [illegible] speak of slavery as a good thing, and they will [illegible] abolitionists. The expression of this sentiment, they must know, will not appease our feelings nor [illegible] trade; it is not therefore

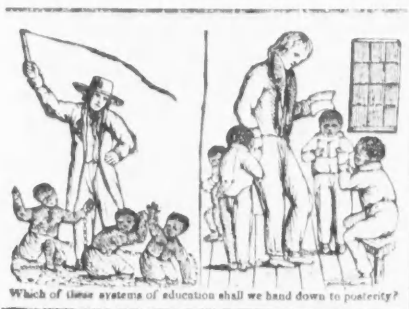
the language of selfish flattery, but of the conscience—the deference which even time-serving tracklers are compelled to pay to truth. To save the Union, they are ready to sacrifice the abolitionists, but yet they do not deny the correctness of their principles. They place their own non-interference with our claims not on the basis of *justice*, but of a *compact*, by which their fathers bound them—a compact which they hint could not be justly made again! Is it so? Are our claims shielded from a moral attack only by a compact? Are they so monstrously unjust that even Mammon cannot wholly blind his followers to their wickedness? Does our conduct call forth a rebuke even from men whose hearts lie in their purses, and whose purses are filled by a share in our gains? We have studied human nature to little purpose, if such reflections have not already disturbed the quiet of many slaveholders.—The northern meetings will thus goad the monster most effectually, while at the same time, they will undoubtedly tend to prevent a rash withdrawal of the south from the Union. This must not be construed into an approval of the base, hypocritical and malignant sentiments of the anti-abolition meetings, but into admiration of the providence of God which makes the wrath of man to praise him.

In the mean time this opposition presents no obstruction either at the south or the north to the progress of the doctrine of immediate emancipation. In both sections, the furious persecution of the so called "incendiary papers" greatly increases the general desire to understand their contents. The books of the Publishing Agent abundantly attest this fact. The shutting up of the mails, can by no means shut out the influence of these publications from the south. All that was expected to be accomplished by the large distribution in July, was fairly to advertise the south of the plan and power of our moral campaign. The first paper reached its destination. The bon-fires at Charleston and Richmond completed the work. A thorn now rankles in every southern conscience, which will be driven deeper by the vigilance committees and the executions of Lynch Law. It were idle to expect to convert the mass of slaveholders by a diffusion of pamphlets; that can only be done by placing them under a moral embargo—by letting them see the image of their crime thrown back upon them from the moral sentiment of every non-slaveholder they meet. The work lies chiefly at the north. It cannot be retarded by any Southern Conventions or acts of non-intercourse.

He must expect a miracle who expects that public opinion can be changed on the subject of slavery without a tremendous agitation; and he must be profoundly ignorant of the character of this age who can suppose that such an agitation will result in any thing else than the abolition of slavery.—Look at the effect of this agitation already. Anti-slavery societies are now springing up spontaneously in all parts of the land. In May they numbered 200, now they are not less than 300. The topic is one of universal conversation. There is some particle of the leaven flowing through every channel of public communication, and this particle never fails to multiply itself

is getting hold of the purest, most philanthropic and heavenly minded men. We could, were it proper, introduce a long list of such, whose praise is in all the churches. Is it to be supposed that persecution will render these men more apathetic to the horrors and abominations of slavery?

Should an attempt be made, as is now very probable, to suppress anti-slavery publications, by northern legislation, the speedy moral revolution of the north will be fully insured. The discussion will then be bro't home to every man's 'business and bosom.' Neither money nor men will then be wanting. And, inasmuch as it is not in the power of parchment to seal the millions of mouths from which the doctrine of equal rights is wont to issue, the 'heresy' under this pressure must spread with increased rapidity. Only think of a democratic republic suppressing free discussion! Will the multitudinous waves of the sea bind themselves to hold their noisy tongues, lest oppressors should be disturbed in their guilty dreams?



Which of these systems of education shall we hand down to posterity?

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: OCTOBER 17, 1835.

All men are created equal; are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.

DECLARATION OF 1776.

All men are born equally free and independent; and have certain, natural, essential and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY; acquiring, possessing and protecting property.—CONSTITUTION OF N. H.

"The Death Struggle."

The New-York Anti-Slavery Convention is styled by many of the papers a 'death struggle.' What kind of a death struggle is meant, and who are in danger of overthrow, may be learned from the following extracts. We pray God that it may fulfil the predictions of our enemies; that it may indeed prove a death struggle. We pray that it may drag down the bloody image of oppression from his high throne in the popular heart, and break asunder the cord of prejudice, and rescue the guiltless and crushed poor from the hands of the destroyer. From the tone of the pro-slavery press, it would seem that the abettors of tyranny and falsehood are marshalling their forces for a desperate onset. The r

ause is tottering; the spirit of truth, equity and ove is passing through the land, and shedding ts blessed influence on the minds of man. Benevolence and christian sympathy are working like leaven in the nation, leavening the whole mass, the enemies of freedom are aware of the rapid progress of righteous principle, and are driven to madness. They have hitherto despised us, as 'fanatics' and 'dreamers'; they now fear, not *us*, but the power of omnipotent *Truth*. The persuasion of the doctrines of the Gospel, of christian organization and sympathy." They begin to despair. They know if suffered to persevere—and the might of human interference cannot prevent it—the cause of abolition, of philanthropy, of *God*, will inevitably prove triumphant. Hear the 'New-York *Sunday* Morning News:'

"If this Convention [Convention at Utica] of Christians, and the ministers of Christ are suffered to assemble, to make their appeals as a body to the christian churches, and to devise means to enlist in their cause every professing christian who is under their influence,—if all this is suffered to be done, then we say that *without a doubt*, the abolitionists will immediately derive an accession of strength which neither the people nor the authorities of this State can ever control or restrain. The force of christian sympathy and example [is the writer an infidel, that he fears such a force?] and the dread of the denunciations of the church, will ultimately bring every professing christian into the ranks of abolition. No one who knows any thing of the present organization of the Northern churches,—of the disposition of the majority of its ministers and rulers to increase their power and influence and of the arbitrary and rigid manner in which they exercise power, can doubt that this will be the result.

[It will be perceived that the writer is not afraid of a division but of a union of the church.]

"We unhesitatingly avow the opinion that, if this convention assembles and carries out its designs as declared in the address below, from that moment the abolitionists, in this State, and in all the eastern States, will have a majority, or a minority of such members, and organization, as will enable them to cope successfully with the majority, either at the polls, or in the field. [!] This is the fact, and those who, as well as we, know it to be the fact, should no longer shun or conceal it, but look it in the face and prepare to meet the crisis."

The above is an encouraging confession.—Coming from the pen of a violent opposer of abolition, it is especially valuable. We thank him for his testimony, and hope our friends in the empire state will be true to their trust. After calling on "the governor forthwith to summon a special meeting of the legislature" to put down the abolitionists by penal enactments, the *Sunday News* goes on to say:

"One more measure we regard as indispensably necessary at this crisis. The true and disinterested, and rational "friends of our holy religion," [the editor of a Sunday newspaper talk about 'our holy religion!' what mockery!] must without delay, disabuse christianity of the reproach of abolitionism. They must meet organization by concert and arrest the progress of delusion and fanaticism, and corruption in the churches. Let them summon a state convention, both lay and clerical, to assemble at the anti-abolitionists, and take effectual measures for palsying their influence, and annulling their decrees, so far as the church is concerned."

The pious editor, however, after all his appeals to the "friends of our holy religion," thro' the medium of his Sunday paper, rather despairs of receiving any aid either from church or state. He therefore continues:

"If this appeal both to the friends of religion and the state authorities, be disregarded, then will not the people have reason to believe that the abolitionists have favor and support both behind the *altar* and behind the *throne*?"

Now we are frank to confess, and if it be any benefit to our enemies or 'the people' they are welcome to it, that we receive great and essential favour and support behind the *altar*; but the power behind the *throne*," as might be expected, is against us. Prayers and intercessions and thanksofferings are going up daily unto Heaven from christian hearts; the influence of christian principle is supporting us; but the monarch and the oppressor, the autocrat and his lordlings, are putting forth their utmost energies to retard and crush our course. The aid of the *altar* we always hope to have; the aid of the *throne* we never desire. But for the *ultimatum*:

"As the question lies, we are opposed to any measure on the part of the people in general.—But if neither measure be adopted [of *ist*, if the legislature refuse to trample on natural and constitutional rights, and shackle free discussion, and christians refuse to enlist in the ranks of slavery, then] we shall propose a general convention of *young* men. [The old, we suppose, would be somewhat swayed by their recollections of 1776, and the principles inculcated by Jefferson and his compatriots,] friendly to *order*, and opposed to the principles and designs of the abolitionists, to assemble at the time and place named by the abolitionists, for the purpose of *watching* their movements and arresting their designs."

We suppose the convention of young men" is to unite with the "state convention, both lay and clerical," in a "respectable mob," and break up, if possible, the meeting of the abolitionists. We did think the result of the New-York riots would teach our opposers wisdom, but 'whom God wills to destroy he first makes mad," and "the wrath of man shall praise him."

Influence of the Abolition Movements on the South.

We are often told that our measures are irritating the slaveholder, and making the condition of the slaves far worse than it was formerly. We are told of the increased severity of their treatment, their unwonted deprivations and sufferings, and such like direful tales. Granting all this to be true, it furnishes no reason against the continuance of our efforts. It only shews the deep and deadly depravity of the South; it only shews, with a clearer light, the baneful influence of the system which we oppose—its action on the moral feelings, perverting and scathing conscience, and rendering ste

perate all the passions of the human heart. It only illustrates the accursed spirit which the system excites and nourishes, and puts into exercise; it only shews the need of a remedy, the strong necessity of *immediate* and earnest intercession and rebuke. But we believe their stories are exaggerations and bravado. We believe the threats of the South, like all the threats of those whose consciences are touched, are merely the impulsive outpourings of troubled minds.—They are merely menaces of intimidation, uttered for the purpose of preventing the interference of what Duff Green calls "that morbid sympathy which appeals to conscience." Indeed, in their unguarded moments, they admit this.—The condition of the slaves is *not* worse than it has been. The tyrant master dares not make it worse. Human nature would not long endure a heavier bondage. It would rise up in wrath—insurrections would be the certain and speedy consequence. The slave holder oppresses his poor victim as sorely at all times as he dares do. He deprives him of the wages of his toil—he crushes his mind in ignorance—he buys and sells him like a brute—he violently trespasses on his hopes and affections—he dooms him, in brief, to a life of servitude, degradation, and want. He wrenches all from him that humanity in its lowest estate, will quietly yield. To go farther he dares not, from a respect to his own personal safety.

The following communication is from one in whom our readers can place strict reliance. We can vouch for its accuracy. It is no fancy piece, but is substantially fact. Let the slave holder speak for himself.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Mr. Editor:—While in N. York a few weeks since, I happened to be lounging upon a settee in front of the Hotel where I lodged, when a number of ragged, dirty, squallid urchins came groping along through the gutter.

"There," said a sour, petulant, red-nosed looking personage, "Arthur Tappan, d-n him, had better take care of such wretched creatures, and not trouble the slaves at the south." This was accompanied with a sort of a grunt and a sneer.

Myself.—"Well, perhaps he does what he can for them. Are you from the South, sir?"

Slaveholder.—"Yes, from North Carolina, and own slaves—aint ashamed to own it either.

M. "I am happy then, to be thrown into your company, as I am anxious to learn the real effects of the incendiary movements of the hot-heads of the North."

As I interringled these remarks with the usual graceful epithets, "incendiary," "hot-heads," etc. his stern muscles relaxed, and he honored me with a very polite bow. He marked me, of course, as *true-blue*.

M. "Do you allow the slaves in your section to hold meetings separately?

S. "No. We dare not. They go with us."

M. "I should think that would place cruel

awkward situation. For instance if the preacher should happen to read such passages as the following—"Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," would not his slave be apt to whisper to his next neighbour, in his simple language, 'Hi, hi; how massa swaller dat?'"

S. "Yes, that is an evil, and *such* owners keep their slaves from going to church."

M. "Are not the movements of the fanatics of such a character that you feel compelled to bind the chains tighter?"

S. "Oh fudge, that's all humbug. It's just the contrary. We have to treat them better; if we did not, there would be insurrections. If a master promises any thing to a slave now, he dares not violate his promise. At this present moment the slaves are better off than they ever were before, and a d——n sight happier than their owners. They are better clothed, and better fed than formerly, and it is becoming now highly disreputable for a master to flog his slave severely, or sell him from his wife or children."

M. "How long has this been?"

S. "A few years."

M. "But what makes the *masters* so unhappy?"

S. "Inactivity and luxury. They are not accustomed to help themselves even in very small matters. Indolence and effeminacy, produced by slavery, will do more to ruin the south than all the incendiary pamphlets that can be thrown among us."

M. "Well, is the south adopting the best course to crush this wild fanaticism."

S. "No, d——n it, (his whole conversation was most charmingly bespangled with such glittering phrases,) the south will counteract its own object, and though I'm a southerner, I say it freely. This *lynching* will make the North, to a man, abolitionists."

At this point of the conversation a friend stepped up, and proposed one inquiry, that divulged the horrible anti-republican, anti-slaveholding, Garrisonian character of my abolitionism. My friend of the hour, soon as the secret was out, was off in as much hurry as though he was in a hornet's nest.

A friend desires me to append a comment.—The text contains a volume of commentary in itself. B. K. Jr.

Gerrit Smith.—This gentleman has addressed another letter to Rev. L. Bacon, which has appeared in the New-Haven Intelligencer. It is written in his usual style, a mingling of error and truth, light and darkness. Some of his sentiments are good, but their influence is greatly lessened by the inconsistencies which accompany them. His truly benevolent heart is not entirely free from his old and deep-rooted prejudices. He has been so long connected with the Colonization Society that it is like the parting of parent and child to renounce it. He however deserves a rich meed for his exertions for the education of the blacks, and we cordially bestow it.

Massacre at Liberia.

Affairs at Liberia are in a melancholy posture. The account which we give below, of the destruction of the colonists of Port Cresson, is full of thrilling and mournful interest. It is surely a deplorable record of the results of Colonization efforts in that interesting country, (Africa,) but it is not at all surprising. It is what might naturally be inferred from the character of those efforts. As it is it conveys a lesson which we hope will not soon be forgotton. It shews the utter folly of attempting to christianize a country by building up on its shores a trading colony. Wild and fanatical as we may be on the subject of immediate abolition, the friends of colonization are incomparably more so.—Their theory contradicts all knowledge of human nature, all practical experience of the operation of truth on national and individual mind.—Their scheme combats the dictates of reason and historical examples. It has been prosecuted in defiance of both; the consequences are such as were predicted almost at the outset. Attempt to promulgate the principles of the christian religion among a heathen people, through the instrumentality of avaricious and gain-seeking men! What an absurdity in morals. That the attempt at Liberia has been of this kind is evident. Passing by those who were "coerced" from this country "by a carp-whip," the invitations which have been given to free blacks to emigrate, have not been invitations to do good to the African, but to become wealthy. Those who have gone, have been influenced not by benevolent motives, but by hopes of pecuniary gain. They have not gone as teachers of the gospel, but as traffickers in merchandise and—human flesh. Look at the addresses of colonization agents. What have been the motives presented to the negroes? What has been the character of the appeals? selfish. Philanthrophy and benevolence has had little to do with them.—Money, temporal prosperity, worldly advantage and respectability, has been the burden of their song. Those who have responded to their calls, are those whose avarice sways them more than moral principle. They are for the most part mere adventurers, who are preying upon the peace and welfare of the natives. For proof of this we refer the reader to the printed documents of the Colonization Society.

What shall we say of the influence which, as appears by the late developements, the colony of Liberia is exerting on the people of Africa? That it is bad, decidedly bad, that instead of preparing the way and facilitating direct missionary effort, it is driving the natives further from us. It is exciting fears and jealousies and suspicions, and making all hope of their moral and intellectual improvement desperate. The blood of the colonists has already been shed.—And in retaliation the colonists have proclaimed WAR against the natives! A war not of truth with error, not of christian kindness and forbearance and christian light with heathen passions and heathen darkness; but a war of outrage and violence,—a war of conflagration and carnage, devastation, rapine and death! A war of robbery and blood-shed against those whom they are sent to convert to the pure and peaceable doctrines of christian faith. O, how inconsistent and infatuated! How unlike is this to the proselyting spirit of the Apostles! How unlike the sublime conduct of Brainerd, and Buchanan; the calm, hallowed, self-denying labors of a Newell and a Judson! How unlike the noble, self-sacrificing feelings of those who have gone, not with the weapons of death, but with their lives in their hands, to the distant isles of the South Sea! Verily, the professed friends of Africa must change their course, or their efforts will be worse than useless. They must renounce the Colonization scheme. It is oppressive, corrupt, poisonous. It is casting stumbling-blocks in the path of the missionary; it is building up a high wall of prejudice between him and those whom he desires to instruct. A commercial colony, whether at Liberia or the Cape of Good Hope, is a most dangerous medium through which to send the gospel to the African. Its doctrines will become polluted—its holy principles most surely perverted, in their transmission. If ever "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God," our missionaries must go to her, as the early disciples went forth, single-handed, and above all, *single-hearted*. They must stand amid the errors and superstitions of Mahometanism; amid the idol-temples of the pagan; the darkness and corruptions of heathenism, alone, insulated from the world, trusting only in God and the power of eternal Truth. They must put off their sandals from their feet, and cast aside their staves. Neither purse nor scrip must they take with them. They must be moved in their labors by a pure and ardent love to God and to human souls. Never may they attempt to combine mercantile traffic with the preaching of the gospel. We repeat, the friends of Africa must renounce, at once, utterly, the Colonization scheme. It cannot aid in christianizing or civilizing that country; it does, on the contrary, directly and most sadly tend to repel the natives from the influence of christian truth.

Liberia.

Dreadful catastrophe. At ten o'clock on the night of the 13th June, an express arrived from William L. Weaver, Esq., superintendant of the settlement at Edina, communicating the dreadful intelligence of an attack by the natives, on the infant settlement of Port Cresson, and of the slaughter of seventeen settlers; the following is a copy of the letter:

Edina, June 11th, 183
Nathaniel Brander, Esq—

Dear sir,—I am sorry to inform you the dreadful circumstance which took p on the night of the 10th inst. King Harris has taken an armed force ove Port Cresson, and killed and wounded a eighteen persons. We are at present i state of war; if you can get any volun to come down, you will confer a great f on an unprotected people. We, on this of the river are in a state of defence, enou to defend ourselves in a small way, but have only one barrel of powder on hand present. No more,

But remain your's respectfully,
WM. L. WEAVER

Immediately on the reception of the l ter, the vice-agent called the inhabitants g ther, and proceeded to make arrange to succor Edina, which it was suppo would be attacked by the savage and bl thirsty foe. For which purpose, le were despatched to the settlements up river, announcing the fact, and reque that each would furnish a quota of m and have them ready to embark from t place by 12 o'clock on the following d and by 6 o'clock on the following morn sixty men from Caldwell, New Georgia, this place, were ready to proceed to the sistance of their brethren. The dist to Millsburg being much greater, the vo teers did not reach this till late in the af noon. About 9 o'clock A. M., the Eng brig St. Lucia, captain Rawling, tra from Liverpool, arrived from the leew with Mr. and Mrs. Hankisson, and one man who saved her life by getting u the house, when the ruthless fiends w passing like a destroying angel through place. The intelligence received from H. pointed out the propriety of adopt some method that would enable the vic gent to supply Edina with provisions. do which, as the stock on hand was sm it was necessary to reduce the number men intended to be sent, to fifteen, who s ed on the 15th for Edina. On the 16th brig Ruth, captain Taylor, arrived from le Bassa, bringing Mr. Finney, who, at time of the massacre, was about 18 miles the river, at a place selected for a missio ry location. The intelligence by Mr. F ney is still more painful.

A letter from D. W. Whitehurst, Esq Edina) written subsequently to Mr. We er's, states the number killed at 27, in ad tion to some that have since died of wou From this number, however, must be dedu ted the three brought up in the St. Luci Mr. and Mrs. Hankisson owe their pres vation to the fidelity of a Krooman, wh protected them while the merciless savag were dealing death to all around them. A soon as an opportunity offered, the Krooma conducted them to his own town; where they were taken off by Capt. Rawlin and kindly brought to this place. What wa the immediate cause of the attack, we hav not been able to learn; but we have no he itancy in believing, that the smallest sha of military preparations would have preve ted the attack. But the principle on whi the colony was founded, is one that forbi every thing like military preparation, cons quently, they fell an easy prey to the villa ous savages. With all deference to the op ions of men in almost everything, our sup riors in wisdom, we beg leave on this su ject to differ, and we think our intercou with the natives and consequent knowled of their disposition and habits, entitle us this privilege. We, as much as any one earth, abhor and deprecate the effusion human blood; but we are conscious the way to prevent it, is not to be unprepared resist the natives, but rather the most certa method to provoke it. Such is the dastard unprincipled disposition of these half cann bals, that nothing but a knowledge of sup riority, in point of physical force, on the pa of foreigners, will keep them to the terms any compact made with them. A colony e tablished without the means of defending itself, becomes at once, from the *face* of the cupidity, a temptation to robbery and mu der; but let them see an exhibition of mil tary equipment; the slightest preparati for defence, and their dastardly souls, like humble spaniel, will succumb into most wi ling obedience.

From Edina. On the 10th instant, th schooner Timbuctoo, Capt. Ferdanzez, arr ved from Edina with 35 of the unfortuna Port Cresson company. They were truly a pitiable predicament, many having not ing more than their clothes which they sto in. Their sufferings and privations we very promptly met by the attention of th people in this place; each one seemed an ious to be foremost in expression of symp thy, and by administering whatever cou contribute to their comfort.

Previous arrangements having been mad by the acting agent, they were at once loca ted in one of the public receptacles, wher they will probably remain until orders fro America.

In consequence of the melancholy intelli gence above recorded, town meetings wer held at Monrovia on the 8th and 9th of July to consider what measures the safety of th Colony and its future relations with the sur rounding tribes, required to be adopted. On the 14th the Colonial Council met at the Agency House, and after reading the pro ceedings of said meetings and the latest in telligence from Edina, proceeded to pass the following resolutions:

[The 1st and 2d, being merely introductory, we omit.]

3. Resolved, That the injuries recently inflicted by King Joe Harris, on the persons and property of several citizens of Liberia, and his present menacing and hostile move ments, threatening the existence of the set tlement at Edina, demand the most prompt and energetic measures on the part of this government, to secure its future peace and safety, therefore

4. Resolved, That War be and the same is hereby declared against King Joe Harris, subject, however, to the following provisions:

That three Commissioners be sent to Bas-

sa, charged with the following instructions:

To demand from King Joe an explanation of his late conduct.

To demand reparation for his aggressions on the persons and property of Americans.

To demand security as sufficient and adequate, as the nature of the circumstances will admit, for the future peace and safety of the Colony generally, and its citizens individually, as well as for the preservation, on the part of King Joe, of those amicable relations which have hitherto subsisted between this Colony and King Joe.

That his delivery of the persons of the aggressors, and that alone will be considered reparation.

That in the event of failing to accomplish the above purposes, the declaration of the 4th resolution be vigorously prosecuted.

In order to give energy and effect to the deliberations of the Commissioners, and thereby prevent the effusion of human blood,

5. Resolved, That the Acting Agent be authorised to accept the voluntary services of one hundred men, to be armed, accoutred and provisioned, and properly officered by the Acting Agent, to accompany the commissioners to Bassa.

6. Resolved, That Maj. J. C. Barbour and John Day, Esq. from Monrovia, and John Hanson, Esq. from Edina be the Commissioners.

On motion of John Day,

7. Resolved, That the Acting Agent be vested, and is hereby vested with authority to make any laws or regulations that he may deem needful, during the disturbed state of affairs at Edina; and any laws so made shall be of the same force and effect, as tho' made by the whole Council assembled.

The acting agent of the colony at Liberia, had issued his proclamation postponing the election of civil officers of the colony, to the 2d Tuesday in December, the officers to be then elected to enter upon their duties on the 1st day of January.

Mobocratic Threat.

"The abolitionists ought to understand distinctly and unqualifiedly, that no more abolition meetings can publicly be held in this place, whether attended by Thompson or any one else. The correct and independent (!) feeling of our citizens on the subject will not permit it. The excitement on Friday evening was no stronger against Thompson personally, than against the cause in which he is engaged; and should any further attempts be made to agitate the question the abolitionists will find it so."

N. H. Patriot, Sept. 14.

So much for mobocracy—what the effect will be remains to be seen. One thing is certain, the abolitionists will never be frightened from their "course" by mobs or brick-bats. They have rights, the exercise of which they will never yield.—They have duties from the full performance of which they will never shrink.—They have responsibilities, which as men and Christians they cannot cast off. Free discussion is "a home-bred right, a fire-side privilege;" we shall employ it on all questions that interest us, at all seasons and on all occasions. We shall use it in private and in public, in popular assemblies as well as in the social circle, through the press and in the forum, in essays, dissertations, appeals and open lectures. No man, nor set of men, can compel us to relinquish it. It is our duty to plead in behalf of the oppressed, to "cry aloud and spare not," "to lift up our voice like a trumpet" in intercession and rebuke. We shall never cease to do it, while our tongue has the power of utterance, or our pen can write, or our mind can give thought & language to tongue and pen. We will plead openly before men, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear. We shall hold meetings as usual, whenever occasion demands; if they are broken up, we will hold others, and again others, until we can hold them in peace, and the whole nation shall be of one heart and one mind, and shall mete out impartial justice to the abused innocents. If we are denied the pulpit, we will plead by the wayside; and if the public halls be closed against us, we will plead in the field, and over the plough, and in the work-shop, till the people shall receive us with open doors. The threats of our opponents will not frighten us; the attacks of mobs will not frighten us; with an approving conscience, and God for our leader, we shall persevere. The abolitionists of New-Hampshire have pledged their faith; they will never prove recreant. We tell our opponents we are determined; and if they think to stay us by violence they have egregiously mistaken their men.

Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine.

E. Wright Jr., Editor. *Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society.*

This work will be issued on the first days of October, January, April, and July. Its plan comprises.

1. *Original Essays* on subjects connected with the Abolition of Slavery.
2. *Reviews* of works bearing on the same subject.
3. *Facts* pertaining to the system of American Slavery, and our colored population generally.
4. Anti-Slavery Intelligence from abroad.
5. Notices of works which relate to Slavery.
6. Interesting Selections, in prose and verse.
7. A brief summary of the progress of the Abolition Cause.

The price is one dollar a year, *payable always in advance.* Six copies to one direction for $5.

The first number of the above work has just been issued. It is filled with interesting and instructive matter, from the pens of several able and eloquent Anti-Slavery writers. It contains an article by Charles Stuart, "The Abolition of Slavery by Great Britain," which is exceedingly appropriate at this time. It recounts the trials and sufferings of the Abolitionists in that country, the paltry expedients and false alarms and avaricious opposition of the slave faction, and the firmness, perseverance, and ultimate triumph of the friends of truth and justice. We shall hereafter make an extract, to show that the same excuses, the same sentiments, and the same epithets of contumely and reproach were employed in England to prevent the abolition of the slave trade as are employed now to prevent the abolition of slavery itself.

"The harmony of Moses and the Apostles" is an elaborate and generally sound article, worthy of repeated perusals. There are also able articles from the pens of William Goodell and President Greene. We earnestly hope the friends of the Abolition cause will give this publication a hearty and generous support. It deserves it; it will be for their benefit to give it.

Contents for October.—Introduction; Abolition of Slavery by Great Britain—by C. Stuart; Slavery tested by its Own Code—by William Goodell; The Principles of Reform—by Beriah Green, President of Oneida Institute; The Harmony of Moses and the Apostles—by Rev. Sam'l Crothers, Pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Greenfield, Ohio; Pro-Slavery Testimony Examined—by the Editor; Foreign Intelligence—The British West Indies; Advance of the Abolition Cause; To the Reader.

Subscriptions received at the office of the Herald of Freedom.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

George Thompson and the Exeter News Letter.

Mr. Kimball,—An Anti-Slavery friend has sent me an article cut from the Exeter News Letter, headed "George Thompson," which I send you herewith. It deserves a place in Mr. Garrison's Penitentiary, *The refuge of oppression.* You ought to erect such an asylum in the Herald, in an appropriate corner. I would warrant it an ample patronage in these singular times.

[From the Exeter News Letter.]

George Thompson.—The N. Hampshire Association met at Plymouth, on Tuesday the first day of this month. This is a meeting of the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers in this State, by delegates from their several local Associations. It is usually attended also, by delegates from the General Associations of the other New-England States, and from the General Presbytery of the United States. The object of the meeting is to strengthen the fellowship of the Churches, to promote brotherly love, and advance the interests of Religion. These occasions have usually been seasons of great harmony. Whatever of bitterness or dissension has marred the happiness or interrupted the intercourse of different denominations of christians has been excluded from the meetings of the Association. No [illegible] has been willing to interfere with their exercises or disturb their peace; and christians of every denomination have rejoiced in their joy, and left them in the free and undisturbed exercise of their rights to worship their Master according to the dictates of their own consciences. No hand has been bold and wicked enough to throw into their peaceful assembly firebrands, arrows and death. No American would have the heart to do it.—But an attempt was made at Plymouth to destroy the enjoyment and fellowship of the Association; and that attempt was made, as we understand, by the instigation, and at the instance of George Thompson, a foreigner, and an Englishman! He came to this country assuming to be a Clergyman; and as such, has occasionally occupied the pulpits of America.—President Fisk, of Connecticut, has publicly stated that Thompson was never ordained, and never regularly licensed to preach. He came here to fan the flame of dissention between the North and South,—to weaken the bands that bind these States together,—and to sow or water the seeds of their dissolution. His course has been that of a baleful comet; and he has done more to destroy the peace and prosperity of this country, and the happiness of the American people, than a British Army under ten Wellingtons could have done. He appeared at Plymouth, and the request was modestly made to the General Association that George Thompson, the English missionary, might be formally introduced to that body, and lecture the Rev. grey beards of the American Church, upon their neglect of duty in relation to Slavery. George Thompson was to reprove and rebuke them, and direct them how to think, and how to act, upon a subject of great national importance—a subject connected with our very political existence—a subject of the bearings of which he was as entirely ignorant, as of the principles of our government or of common decency. The Association very properly determined, as they had met for higher and better purposes, they would allow no foreigners—no enemy from without or within—to agitate that agitating subject in their social and religious circle. Thompson not being permitted to preach Abolitionism to those who had assembled to preach and to hear the Gospel, opened an opposition house, and did what he could to plant the root of bitterness in the New-England churches, whose representatives were assembled in Convention. According to the correspondent of the N. H. Observer, he attacked the Association and the ministers individually for the refusal to receive instruction from George Thompson! It is somewhat surprising that in Plymouth, where the Association had been invited to meet, this foreigner could have found an individual, who would have countenanced or tolerated his attack upon that body. We believe it was not well received, and he gave up the ground on which he had intruded.

To reply to all the slanders and falsehoods, showered upon the noble stranger, Geo. Thompson, from our most unscrupulous press, with a frequency, multiplicity and *malice aforethought*, that beat the "infernal machine" fired off at Louis Phillippe, would worry down Briareus himself with a whole quiver of goose quills in each of his hundred hands!—and an attempt to *be heard* before a community resolved into one great, variegated mobocracy, were as idle and hootless, as "the whistle of the stout mariner amid the roar of the tempest." But there is now and then a perpetration, that transcends Abolition patience itself. The article in the News Letter is of that class,—not so much on account of its falsehood, for, far as it is from fairness and truth, it resembles them both vastly more than the pro-slavery average of the day. It deserves notice rather from the character of its editor, to whom, if I do not mistake his person, I cannot extend the *privilegium vulgus* of the times.

I feel bound to state the facts in this case, as briefly as I can, and show the part acted by Mr. Thompson, and hastily as I must, for it is now some weeks since the article in question probably went forth, and it will soon be swallowed up in succeeding Numbers, after having done its work. If my statement should meet the eye of the editor of the News Letter, and he shall feel some "visitings" in that he has maligned the stranger, and struck a blow at the cause of humanity, why then he will do the thing that becomes him. I should admire to see one instance of Anti-Abolition retracting. It would gleam out like a ray of sunshine after a long and hopeless storm. I would treasure it up as the earliest token of better times.

Some weeks before the Association met in this place, the Plymouth Anti-Slavery Society voted an invitation to Mr. Thompson to visit us, at the time of the meeting of that body. Our object was to afford the Christians, and especially the Ministers to be assembled there, an opportunity of hearing an appeal in behalf of the slave, and of this Land of Liberty, fast sinking under the guilt of the nameless wrongs it is heaping upon him. We regarded the case of the country as desperate, unless the Churches, especially of the non-slave-holding States, came up, without farther delay, to the help of the Lord against the mighty oppressor—the churches of the free States, guiltiest of all in our estimation, as they stand aloof from the confusion and embarrassment of the Slavery system, and on the vantage ground of comparative freedom and light. The "Ten righteous" to save a Sodom like ours, must embrace at least the Christians of New-England. To reach these the pastors must first be awakened; and an opportunity to address them, in mass—rare and invaluable—was about to be presented,—and who among men could plead before them like Geo. Thompson? This was our argument. Professing Christians, most of us, we did not dream that an association of the friends of *missions* would disregard the appeal of Mr. Thompson, or refuse to hear him because he was "*a foreigner*," or that an enlightened ministry would join in with the wicked partizan deprecation, "Foreign emissary, supported by foreign funds, sent here to overturn our peculiar institutions." What is the missionary to India but an "emissary?" what is New-England to the Hindoo but "foreign" and? and what the gifts of the monthly concert, and the treasures of the contribution box, but "foreign funds" to the banks of the Ganges? and what—I was about to say—are the infernal rites of Heathenism but their "peculiar institutions?" but here the parallel fails, for there is nothing in all the grim and foul incidents to ages of Pagan darkness and depravity, to be named by the side of that unutterable, diabolical "peculiarity," *American Slavery!* Slavery, pure, absolute, unalloyed—extinguishing the soul, rendering needless all fetters of the body, reducing man to the implicit subserviency of the dog—No! there is no "peculiar institution" under heaven, comparable with this, and has not been since the fall.

In obedience to the Society's vote, I addressed Mr. Thompson a letter, urging upon him our argument as strongly as I could, and adding what considerations I was able, arising from the fitness of our atmosphere, here in the heart of enterprizing, *emigrating, sober* N. H. for an Anti-Slavery encampment. Mr. T. hesitated on account of pressing calls elsewhere. I persevered, and having the better ground, prevailed, and he assented to be with us the evening before the sitting of the Association. He arrived a little before sunset, accompanied by John G. Whittier. It was the evening of that "incendiary measure," the monthly concert of prayer for the Immediate Abolition of Slavery. Mr. T. was to unite in that concert. He attended. The meeting was not full, though by no means a thin one. It had been rumored in the village too late to be generally corrected, that Mr. Thompson had not arrived and would not be present. He addressed the listening assembly with his accustomed power, faithfulness and truth. Fatigued as he was, unprepared, except as he is *semper paratus*, unexcited by the animating presence of thousands, his address was yet of that extraordinary character that would be remembered for life. At the close of the services another lecture was immediately bespoken with eagerness by the brethren present, and the chapel proffered by those who had it in charge, and it was announced, after consulting Mr. T., that he would lecture there the following evening.

That next morning, in a group of Anti-Slavery brethren from abroad, met casually, in the street—clergymen—members, most of them of the association, as respectable and worthy as any in the State, it was proposed by a highly distinguished minister, *Mr. Thompson not being present and knowing nothing about it*, that a motion should be made by some member, in the association, that at some time, during its sittings, not interfering with its business or arrangements, a hearing should be given, among the calls of the day, to the great and paramount cause of emancipation; and that Mr. Thompson be invited to speak in its behalf. The proposition was immediately agreed to. Towards the close of the afternoon services of the day, the motion was made by as respectable a divine as any in that body. This was the "attempt made to destroy the enjoyment and fellowship of the association, made by the instigation and at the instance of George Thompson, a foreigner and an Englishman." Now mark how "the association very properly determined, as they had met for higher and better purposes, they would allow no foreigner to agitate that agitating subject in their social and religious circle." The motion was made in the most respectful manner, addressed to the moderator. Whether it was seconded or not I could not hear; there was hardly time for it, when a severe looking old gentleman exclaimed in a very abrupt and unecclesiastical manner, "we wont have any thing to do with it," to that import, if not in these very words.—There was no reply, no discussion, no vote, no indefinite postponement, no commitment, no *action whatever*. There was a pause of peculiar character for a moment, and then a dispersion of the association and congregation without, I believe, the formality of an adjournment. Mr. Thompson witnessed this *associate* procedure; and on his return to his lodgings, took up the question with professional composure,—"What has the Church to do with Slavery?" He made it the theme of his evening lecture. The chapel was full. Many clergymen of the association, and gentlemen of high ecclesiastical and literary rank attended. I wish they had all attended. I wish the entire ministry of New-England could have heard that lecture. "What has the Church to do with Slavery," was the tremendous Interrogatory, and would to Heaven the American church could have listened to the mighty reasonings in reply. Could they have been within the reach of that argument, and heard it in the spirit of Christians in seasons of revivals,—the "incendiary" appeal of George Thompson that night would have proved, by the blessing of God, the overthrow forever, of American Slavery. That the lecturer "attacked the association, or any individual minister" is untrue. Will the News Letter take back any thing, or is it beneath the dignity of a genuine whole-blood *American*, to take back slanderous charges upon a mere "foreigner and an Englishman!" Let any man, who says Mr. Thompson attacked the association or any minister, state the attack. I heard none, and my neighbors, who were present, tell me they heard none. This slandering people because they are "Englishmen," awkwardly becomes our scholars and profess*ors* of religion.

As to the "not well received" and "he gave up the ground on which he had intruded" the News Letter tells entire *news* to those who were present. Mr. Thompson had consented to tarry until Wednesday morning only, but at the animated and urgent request of many who were desirous to hear him again, he remained and lectured on Wednesday evening. *The Chapel was thronged.* Very many clergymen attended—more than on the preceding evening. It was as reverend, and respectable an auditory as the land could afford. The theme of the lecture was the crime of the abolitionists and the sin of their cause. It was that they pleaded for the *Black man.* It was because he was *black.* The orator seemed to give full play to his feelings and his genius. His illustration of the two *philanthropists*, in the captive's dungeon at midnight, one demanding of the other, as they came nigh and heard his moan, and the clank of his chain, as he tossed in his restless sleep—that they should rescue him and give him his liberty, and the other, in the true spirit of prudential *expediency*, questioning of the captive's form, his country, his features, his *complexion*, and to all these, the reply *He is a man*, in thundering succession, was overpowering—terrible. I do not remember any thing like its effect upon the auditory. The whole lecture was of grand and lofty eloquence, realizing to me what I had imagined of the powers of Sheridan or Patrick Henry. But I forget I am speaking of the "ignorant" subject of the article of the News Letter, "ignorant of the principles of our government and of common decency."

At the close of the lecture, a resolution drawn by Mr. Whittier, and vindicating the claims of Anti-Slavery upon the church, and upon all patriots and christians, was offered by Rev. Mr. Curtis of Pittsfield. Rev. Mr. Root of Dover in the chair. It was seconded—twice read, that it might be distinctly heard, and carried by an almost universal vote—not a hand rising to the contrary call. After this, under impressions that I could not resist, and in such terms as I could command, I moved the Rev. and learned assembly, that thanks be proffered to our beloved brother Thompson, for his affectionate labors among us, and that the vote be expressed by rising. The motion was answered by a spontaneous, simultaneous, and enthusiastic rising, that seemed to leave no unthanking, or unthankful individual down.

Mr. Thompson's brief reply to this sudden tribute of affection was most touching and beautiful. He received it with the more heartfelt pleasure, he said, as it indicated a feeling of pity for the slave, and he begged, that in their generous approbation of the humble advocate, no heart would forget the wrongs of the poor clients. The two friends of the *black* man (as well as the white,) departed next morning. Their visit, I trust, will be found in the coming day to have furthered the good cause of Anti-Slavery. They will be remembered in many a prayer sent from earnest hearts to Heaven, for the liberation of the captives, and among others, in those of your cordial friend, N. P. ROGERS.

[For the Herald of Freedom.]

N. H. Argus and Abolition.

Mr. Editor,—I submit the following article in answer to a few remarks in the N. H. Argus against the advocates of Anti-Slavery. Says the editor of that paper,

"From those furious and misguided zealots, who are now agitating the community upon the subject of slavery, and who are induced to embark in their wild crusade against the people of the South, by conscientious scruples, as vague and mistaken notions of duty, we think no serious danger need be apprehended. They will soon be put down. The din of their discordant voices will soon be drowned by the more potent voice of public opinion which is now falling in tones of thunder on their ears."

In this age of commotion, the benevolent, the patriotic and the courageous, are not free from vituperation and opposition. And it were presumption in the advocates of immediate abolition not to expect and possess their portion.—When we are called "*fanatics*," let us remember that the champions of reformation in morality, religion or literature are ever stigmatized by the same epithet—that it was said of Christ himself, "he hath a devil." When we are persecuted, let us rejoice that we are accounted worthy to suffer for the truth. When the miseries of human nature, and the ruin of souls call for our remonstrance, let us speak boldly and without fear. If our appeals are not regarded, and a deaf ear is turned to the voice of suffering and woe, let us thank Heaven that we can appeal, not only to the Constitution which our Fathers have left us, and which is now so wickedly disregarded; but to the constitution of human nature, to the freedom of immortal minds, and to the laws of God. But we are "*furious and misguided zealots.*" And is there no fury in our opposers? Are not they grossly misguided? If the blind lead the blind, shall not both fall into the ditch? Is there no fury in the nightly mobs which surround the dwellings of our peaceful citizens, threatening demolition and death? No fury in assaulting an individual in the street, with stones and clubs, and trampling the very dust with madness? No "*misguided zeal*" in roaring around an effigy like bisons around a night-fire in the wilderness?

"We are induced to embark in our wild crusade against the people of the South." We *are* induced by the highest considerations that can affect the heart, to embark, not "*against*" the South but *for* it; and we do embark with the banner of mercy floating above us, and the anchor of truth in our vessel upon a mighty sea, whose troubled waters cast up mire and dirt, and whose billows roll against us with wild but not disheartening fury! We embark to drive the *Dragon* from our brethren, and rescue the victims which are now writhing in his grasp. He has long fed on sable limbs, while the whites have been cajoled by his parasitic blandishments, unconscious of his secret exultations in contemplation of a more palatable prey.

We are guided by no "mistaken notions of duty." But we are guided by conscience.—What is duty? Define it, ye oracles of morality! Is it the duty of philanthropists, of patriots and of christians, to suffer the tears of whip-galled servitude to flow! to look upon our groaning country without an effort to save it! to see the immortal spirit of man languishing and dying in gloomy vassalage? If this is duty, then we are mistaken. But it is *not* duty. No! we are called upon by the voice of virtue and religion, by the voice of domestic woe, by the voice of insulted Heaven, to rescue the slave from his appalling degradation, his master from the hopeless dominion of immorality and crime, and this nation from the forfeiture of the divine favor!

Talk about "destroying our liberties, and rivetting more closely the shackles of the slaves!" That "our freedom cannot exist without slavery!" This is the language which meets us from every quarter. Is then slavery *freedom?* Must our country groan under the accumulating load of two or three millions of slaves in order to be a free country? Such sentiments contradict themselves. The truth is, our liberties are in danger now, and although it may not be apprehended, yet it is waking in the bosom of the nation! Its roar like the subterranean thunders of the volcano is waxing louder, and unless slavery dies, liberty will die! Their conflict has been long, and it is approaching to a decision. And unless we rally around the altar of freedom, it will be torn down, and the night of hopeless vassalage will settle around its vestal fires! Death will spread its wings over our greatness, and suffer not a ray of light to gleam upon our moral and political ruin!

But "we shall soon be put down." We may be put down, but the truth will not be put down. The malice of the world cannot destroy it! The confederated rage of Devils cannot extinguish its everlasting light! Its supporters have fallen it is true, and over their heads its laurels are blooming still in rich and enduring freshness! "Their graves are decked with amarantine flowers," and their eternity is sweetened by the smile of divine approval.

"The din of our hoarse and discordant voices will soon be drowned by the more potent voice of public opinion, which is now falling in tones of thunder upon our ears!"

Our voices may grow hoarse, and fail; but the voice of the oppressed will be heard louder and clearer until every bond be broken. The voice of God will not fail. Its audible notes will sound in the ear of opposition until they penetrate the soul, and echo through its secret chambers, the awful assurances of guilt and condemnation! If our voices must fail, we trust they will not fail from discordancy. They are united now, and they will be heard. The voice of truth will be heard like the trumpet notes of judgment summoning the heart to its own tribunal and the tribunal of its God. These voices are tuned by the hand of mercy, and their vibrations will be prolonged until the designs of that mercy shall be accomplished.—The "notes of thunder" which are falling upon our ears" do not appall us. They are only the excitement of phrenzied ignorance, the growls of unsuccessful harpers. They only show that Satan roars loudest when his empire is most precarious. Let the friends of abolition then groan, in the face of opposition. If we do not triumph, God will not have his cause. Let us raise our banner and cry, CHARGE and VICTORY!

E.

Dartmouth College, Sept. 26, 1834.

POETRY.

The Wanderer of Africa.

BY ALONZO LEWIS, ESQ.

He launched his boat where the dark waves flow,
Through the desert that never was white with snow,
Where the wind was still, and the sun shone bright,
And the stream glowed red with the morning light.

He had sat in the cool of the palm's broad shade
And drank of the fountain of Kaimah's glade,
When the herb was scorch'd by the sun's hot ray,
And the camel failed on his thirsty way.

And the dark maids of Sego their mats had spread,
And sung all night by the stranger's bed;
And his sleep was sweet on that desert sand,
For his visions were far in his own loved land.

He was weary and faint in a stranger clime,
But his soul was at home as in youth's sweet time,
And he lay in the shade, by his cot's clear pool,
And the breeze that come by was refreshing and cool.

And the look of his mother was gentle and sweet,
And he heard the loved step of his sister's light feet,
And their voices were soft and expressive and low,
Like the distant rain, or the brook's calm flow—

And this was the song which the dark maids sung,
In the beautiful strains of their own wild tongue;
"The stranger came far and sat under our tree,
We will bring him sweet food for no sister has he."

And the stranger went forth when the night breeze had died
And launched his light bark on the Joliba's tide;
And he waved his white kerchief to those dark maids
As he silently entered the palmy shades.

And the maidens of Sego were sad and lone,
And they sung their rude song like the death spirits moan:
"The stranger has gone where the simoom will burn,
Alas! for the white man will never return."

MISCELLANY.

VIEWS OF THE SOUTH.

[From the Washington Telegraph.]

THE FANATICS.

But Mr. Webster and the leading whigs of the North, it seems, are to hold a meeting to denounce Tappan, and satisfy the South that they are not willing to interfere in this matter. And what good will Mr. Webster's speeches—what good will the resolutions adopted by these meetings do? They all assume that they are better and more holy than we—that they are too good, too patriotic, to hold slaves, and that they tolerate it in us merely because they have not the power to carry out their views of policy in relation to us. And is any one so blind as to suppose for one moment that *such* meetings, that *such* speeches, or *such* resolutions, will stay the popular current for one single hour? If he does, he is most perversely blind. These same men who now hold these meetings to quiet the South, are themselves the advocates of emancipation. They are the revilers of slavery.—The only objection to immediate emancipation with them is, that the time has not yet come. The only argument that they urge against Tappan & Co. is, that they have a better plan of emancipation than Tappan. And is it not disreputable—shamefully dishonorable in Southern men—to rely upon such men for the protection of their rights and interests in this matter? Their own arguments go to show, that the only question between them and Tappan & Co. is as to the time and manner of doing that which both declare to be a duty.

Now we meet these men of both parties at once, and *deny that slavery is sinful or inexpedient. We deny that it is wrong in the abstract.* We assert that it is the *natural* condition of man; that there ever has been, and *there ever will be slavery;* and we not only claim for ourselves the right to determine for ourselves the relations between master and slave, but we insist that *the slavery of the Southern States is the best regulated slavery*, whether we take into consideration the interests of the master or of the slave, *that has ever been devised.*

[From the Charleston Courier.

MR. FLETCHER'S SPEECH, at Faneuil Hall, speaks the language of the Constitution, and breathes the proper spirit—the spirit of Union and harmony. We beg him, however, and all who like him acknowledge their affectionate interest in, and their political obligations towards the South, to disclose themselves of *the notion that the Southern guards Slavery as an evil*, or even *dreams of its removal*. Our institutions are likely to endure for ages, if not to be perpetual, and while they do endure, and are endured by us, we cannot recognize the monstrous social, to say nothing of the political propriety of denouncing such as *evil*. Our right in the subject-matter is perfect and exclusive, and *not a tongue should wag, nor breath to unravel, against its exercise.*

[From the Columbia (S. C.) Telescope.]

Let us declare, through the public journals of our country, that the question of Slavery is not, and shall not be, open to discussion—that the system is deep rooted among us, and MUST REMAIN FOREVER—that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment *his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dunghill.*

[From the Washington Telegraph.]

We hold that our sole reliance is on ourselves; that we have most to fear from the gradual operation of public opinion among ourselves, and that those are the most insidious and dangerous invaders of our rights and interest, who coming to us in the guise of friendship, endeavor to persuade us that slavery is a sin, a curse, an evil. It is *not true* that the South sleeps on a volcano—that we are afraid to go to bed at night—that we are fearful of murder and pillage. Our greatest cause of apprehension is from the operation of the morbid sensibility which appeals to the CONSCIENCES of our people and would make them the voluntary instruments of their own destruction.

[From the New-Haven Herald.]

The vain blustering, and ridiculous threats of the Richmond and Charleston papers in their comments on the proceedings of the recent meetings in Boston, New-York, and Lowell, are well calculated to produce a reaction in public sentiment at the North, in regard to the real views of the *Southern Agitators.* The opinion is fast gaining ground that the excitement at the South is factitious, and that the demagogues who control it will be satisfied with nothing but unconditional submission to their arrogant demands.

One of the Richmond papers, in urging Southern merchants to attempt to coerce public sentiment at the North *by withdrawing their trade*, has the impudence to speak thus of our citizens:—"Southern Commerce is the RING IN THE NOSE of the Leviathan, by which you may lead them to act the part of friends and brethren. Have we not—has not the South been long enough overseers and factors for the North?"

Language of the Southern Clergy.

The perusal of the following letter from one signing himself a 'BROTHER IN THE LORD,' (!!) will kindle on the cheek of every one jealous for the honor of those who minister at the altar of the living God, a burning blush of shame.

To the Editors of the Enquirer—

PHYSIC SPRING, Buckingham, Va.,
September 3, 1835.

As I have ceased to have any thing to do with the Southern Religious Telegraph or its Editors, I have the request, though out of your ordinary line, that you will give the communication below an early insertion in your paper.

To the Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations within the bounds of West Hanover Presbytery:

One of the humblest of your ministers, dear christian brethren, begs leave, through a political newspaper, to address a few words to you. At the approaching stated meeting of our Presbytery, I design to offer a preamble and a string of resolutions on the subject of the use of wine in the Lord's supper; and also a preamble and a string of resolutions on the subject of the treasonable and abominably wicked inteference of the Northern and Eastern fanatics with our political and civil rights, our property, and our domestic concerns. I, myself, dear brethren, have no reason to doubt the perfect soundness of all my clerical brethren of this Presbytery on these subjects. But you are fully aware that the present state of things loudly and imperiously calls for an expression of their views on these subjects, and particularly on abolitionism, by all church bodies at the South. You are aware also, that our clergy, whether with or without reason, are more suspected by the public than are the clergy of other denominations. Now, dear christian brethren, I humbly express it as my earnest wish, that you quit yourselves like men; that every congregation send up both to the Presbytery and to the Synod the ablest elder it has. Both the subjects which I design to bring to the notice of the Presbytery, are of momentous importance. I have long regarded the eldership in our beloved church, as the conservative and redeeming principle in our admirable church policy. Let, then, our elders who have an interest in Virginia, and who have the best sense, the best cultivation, and the best judgment, be at their post. The times—rely upon it, the times demand it. If there be any stray-goat of a minister among us, tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects. *Your affectionate brother in the Lord,*

ROBERT N. ANDERSON.

A Recommendation.

The Richmond Whig proposes that the Northern people should *'hang a few thousand'* Abolitionists which it thinks they will do. And the Charleston Patriot declares that it will be satisfied with nothing short of laws in the Northern States prohibiting all discussion of the subject of slavery.

Those propositions are so modest and reasonable, that they will readily be complied with. We would propose the following as the substance of a Pennsylvania law on the subject.

1. Whoever shall assert that error of opinion may safely be tolerated when reason is left free to combat it, shall be condemned to four years confinement at hard labor in the Penitentiary.

2. Whoever shall repeat or print that clause of the Pennsylvania Constitution, which declares that "the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable RIGHTS of man," shall be confined to ten years imprisonment.

3. Whosoever shall declare that all men are born free and equal, shall be imprisoned for life.

4. Whosoever shall re-publish any statement from Southern newspapers, concerning the treatment of any masters or mistresses towards their slaves, shall be HUNG.

5. Whoever shall re-publish Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, or the debates in the Virginia or Kentucky Legislatures, on the subject of slavery, shall be LYNCHED.

Such a law would be a compliance with the spirit of the Federal Constitution, which would prove very satisfactory to the friends of strict construction.—*Philadelphia (Van Buren) Times.*

Mrs. Child, the Authoress of the Appeal, which has been so extensively read, has recently published a new work, entitled "The History of the Condition of Women, in various ages and nations." This work merits, and doubtless will receive an extensive circulation in this country. The following picture from that part which relates to the women of the United States, is descriptive of the women of New-England in the early days of the colonies.

"The selectmen deemed they had a right to ascertain whether every girl in their village did a proper amount of spinning and weaving; and if a mother staid away from meeting, to tend her babe, the deacon straightway called to reprove her for neglect of the ordinances. It was then customary for women to carry their infants to religious meetings, and attend to all their wants with as much freedom, as if they had been by their own firesides. With regard to external comforts, there was a near approach to equality in the condition of all classes. The employed ate and drank and labored with their employers. Each household was a patriarchal establishment, of which the hired domestics were a component part; and they generally remained in the family they once entered, until they married or died. It was an almost unheard-of thing for a family to keep more than one female domestic, and her wages, even forty years ago, was not more than two pistareens, or 2*s.* 6*d.* Though cloth was then three times as dear as it now is, this price was sufficient to satisfy all wants; for a new calico gown once a year was then considered quite a luxury.—The most respectable inhabitants of the colonies were quite content to ride to church on horseback, with a wife or a daughter behind them, on a pillion. One gown of silk brocade was considered wealth, and two constituted magnificence; especially if a string of gold beads, and gold buckles for the shoes, were appended thereto. But though the wardrope of those primitive days would appear scanty enough in modern eyes, men did not fail to discuss the worn-out theme of female extravagance. The Simple Cobler of Aggawam, who wrote in Massachusetts as early as 1647, says: 'I can make my selfe sick at any time with comparing the daggling splendor wherewith our gentlewomen were embellished in some former habits, with the goosdom, wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched.—We have about five or six of them in our colony: if I see any of them accidentally, I cannot cleanse my phansie of them for a moneth after. I speak sadly; me thinks it should break the hearts of English-men to see goodly English-women imprisoned in French cages, peering out of their hood-holes for some men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and no body relieves them. It is no marvell they weare drailes, on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the fore part, but a few Squirrel's braines, to help them frisk from one ill-favored fashion to another. It is no little labor to be continually putting up English-women into Out-landish caskes; who if they be not shifted anew, once in a few monthes, grow too sowre for their husbands. When I heare a nugipereus Gentledame inquire what is the newest fashion of the Court, with egge to be in it in all haste, whatever it be, I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cipher, the epitome of nothing, fitter to be kickt, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honored or humored."

From the Commercial Advertiser.

"Washington a Slaveholder."

Mr. Sprague, in his eloquent speech at Faneuil Hall, referred to the example of Washington as a justification of Slavery.—Much as I revere the character of that great and good man, I cannot think this a strong argument in the case; on the other hand, I am compelled to regret, that, when he was so nobly engaged in sustaining the cause of American freedom, he should have held in bondage so many human beings, whose deprivations in this respect were far greater than those of their white countrymen. The more highly I prize the character of Washington, the more ardently I desire that this reproach, did not rest upon it. As a proof that it was impolitic in Mr. Sprague to place this trait in so strong a light, calculated as it is to detract from the veneration in which that great man is held, in the midst of many of his countrymen whose notions of Slavery are less tolerant than those of Mr. Sprague, I refer you to a passage in Dr. Madden's recent work, ("Twelve Months in the W. Indies,") who contrasts Washington and Bolivar in the following manner: "When the Revolution commenced, Bolivar was one of the wealthiest proprietors of the country.—* * * His first act was to sacrifice *property* to the extent of forty thousand pounds. He possessed seven hundred slaves, and he gave them all their liberty. He formed a regiment of the liberated negroes; and this regiment proved highly serviceable in the cause of the Revolutionary war. What was the conduct of Washington in similar circumstances? At the outbreak of the American Revolution he possessed one hundred slaves—did he devote their services to the cause of his country? did he liberate his slaves to give liberty the hearts of a hundred new defenders? Far from it,—Washington clung to his *property*, while he had life to enjoy the advantages of slavery; it was only at his death his slaves obtained their freedom."—Vol. 2, page 17.

Dr. Madden is a British writer, but his work (just published) has been quoted by the apologists of Slavery. I have referred to him, not as approving his sentiments, but merely to show in what light the fact that "Washington was a Slaveholder," is regarded by one not disposed to throw a mantle over his imperfections, and the impolicy of obtruding on the notice of the public what many of his own countrymen, proud as they are of his name, would gladly see obliterated from the page of history.

O'Connell.

[From Brooks' Letters.]

A queer man he is, with a funny social face, alive with frolic,—ready at any weapon too, or *wepon* as he calls it—whether it be the keen piercing shaft of wit, the healthiest and most tasteful declamation, or the most outrageous and profuse abuse, or the heavy-laden bolt of wrathful sarcasm. A specimen of all this varied eloquence he gave us now. Fifty years ago, such words as he used would have cost his head. He was the only orator who made me forget by the freedom of his sentiments, that he was a British orator; for he alone advanced opinions as liberal as an American orator would advocate—dodging narrowly around the throne itself, denouncing all that we consider abuses, advocating free suffrage, and pouncing upon the very principle of hereditary legislation—save, however, that great lottery, as he called it, the Kingship which he expects to keep hereditary without an hereditary prop! I do not care so much, said he, that a Lord should *beget* a Lord, but I do care that a Judge should *beget* a Judge,—the wig, the robe, the ermine, and—the all.

What should you think, he continued, of a tailor, who because *he* was a tailor, should undertake to beget a tailor too,—& yet how much easier is it to beget the hereditary maker of our coats than the hereditary makers and judges of our laws? The loud response of the audience warmly approved the sentiment.

When O'Connell first came into the meeting he was most boisterously cheered.—When he arose to speak, the noise was yet greater. The multitude tried to make him mount a chair so that he could be seen far and wide, but he held on to the floor, exclaiming that he liked that best, and had no inclination to mount above the People, whereupon there was another roar, as a matter of course. O'Connell in person is very large,—almost as large as Mr. Lewis, M. C. from Alabama, but not so tall.—He has a laughing eye.—His appearance is quite coarse.—His handkerchief hung about his neck in a most slovenly manner,—and all his garments seem to have tumbled upon him.—No man better understands that most difficult of all understandings, the art of haranguing masses of men.—When argument became heavy, he fell upon amusement.—When Eloquence, beautiful and grand, had been heard and felt, he made his audience feel more the force of the contrast by something of coarseness and perhaps vulgarity. Sarcasm was tempered by wit, and wit was pointed by sarcasm.—O'Connell is undoubtedly now as an orator (only) the greatest in Great Britain.—None of our distinguished speakers resemble him.—Grundy has more wit, but no such eloquence and chaste declamation.—Forsyth has more bitterness but no such power.—Clay has a far richer and sweeter tone of voice, and a more natural manner, which in general would produce more effect,—but he has no such command of language,—nothing like O'Connell's fluency.—Webster has more dignity and power, and would elevate the sentiment of an audience much higher; but he cannot tickle the ears of people as O'Connell can. He cannot thus play upon the passions.—Preston unites many of O'Connell's gifts,—but Preston loves metaphors more, and uses them not in so natural a way, and therefore by overstraining, loses O'Connell's power. O'Connell hits the exact nail upon the head, and fits his wares to his market. An Irish Barrister in Dublin told me he had seen O'Connell go from the Inns of the Court, where he had been displaying in beautiful language the highest power of intellect, to a public political meeting, and there harrangue an Irish mob in the most blackguard slang. He evidently has great knowledge of all the springs that move men. Nevertheless, he can never inspire confidence. His face, his AIR is not an honest one. If he says fine things one can't help feeling as if he were to see a blackguard reading a homily in a pulpit. Brougham now is just the reverse in the impression he leaves. By the way, O'Connell has a curious seal, befitting his life, that of a ship on a rough sea, under a strong wind—the helmsman crying out 'luff' 'luff.' Immense service he has done to Ireland, by awakening the attention of the English people to this most unhappy nation—and in the turn parties in England must take by and by, I shall not be at all surprised in hearing that he is 'a Peer of the realm.'

A TWO-EDGED SWORD. A writer in the New-York American, sets forth the operation of what has been lately contended for as a principle of law, after the following manner;—

It has been asserted that "eminent jurists," at the South, have given their opinions, that Mr. Tappan, and other active abolitionists, are subject to indictments in the slave holding States, for the dissemination, by means of the United States Mail, of their incendiary publications: that after indictment, they may be claimed for trial, by the Governor of the State where the indictment has been found and published according to its laws; that the mail in such cases, is the agent or machine of the Abolitionists, whose crime commences, when he lodges in the Post Office for distribution in the South, such publications as, by the laws of the Southern States, are prohibited from circulation within them.

I do not purpose to discuss the soundness of this exposition of the law. But it is founded upon the principle, that parties are liable to be punished by the laws of a State, for crimes not consummated within its jurisdiction, by persons neither owing allegiance to it, nor fugitives from its laws.

In some of the city papers of this week, it has been stated that the Macon, Ga. Journal asserts, that $12,000 have been raised in that neighborhood, and $20,000 at New-Orleans, for the delivery of the person of Mr. Tappan, at those places.

Now, the laws of the State of New-York, make the offence of *forcible abduction, or kidnapping*, punishable with confinement in the State Prison; and a *conspiracy* to commit a felony upon the person of another, is an offence, which, by statute, does not require an *over act* to make the crime of conspiracy punishable. It may be well, therefore, for those gentlemen who have conf[illegible]erated for the purpose of procuring to be committed, this gross outrage against our State and its sovereignty to reflect upon the consequences which may ultimately reach themselves, as well as their agents. The crime of *conspiracy*, it would seem is already complete—and, if tempted by the reward offered *by them*, the further crime of abduction should be committed by them, through their agents, they, *and each of them*, may, according to the opinions avowed by these "eminent jurists," be entitled to a residence in one of our *State Prisons*.

INSUBORDINATION. Society among us in this country, seems fast resolving itself into its first elements. Time was, when our country was called, by way of excellence, the country of laws; but we have long since lost the right to this appellation. And just now, of all countries in the world, ours best deserves to be called the country of riot, of misrule and of anarchy. It is very much with us as it was with the children of Israel, when every man did what was right in his own eyes.

For instance, the citizens of Charleston, S. C., have deliberately broken open the U. S. Mail, taken a portion of its contents and burned them up. They have, moreover, resolved to examine the Mail Bags every day and to abstract and destroy such portion of their contents as they may not approve. And to crown the whole, they have applied to the Post Master General, for his sanction to their proceedings, and he has virtually given it!—*St. Louis Obs.*

[From the N. Y. Evangelist.]

SWEEPING DENUNCIATION.—The following furious resolution, passed at Camden, S. C. embraces equally within its scope the Anti-Slavery Society and the gospel; and according to its *northern* friends, the colonization society too, for it is said to be a war upon slavery.

Resolved, That slavery, as it exists with us, we deny to be an evil, and that we regard those who are now making war upon it, in any shape, or under any pretext, as furious fanatics, or knaves and hypocrites; and we hereby promise them, upon all occasions which may put them in our power, the fate of the *pirate*, the *incendiary*, and the *midnight assassin*.

BUNYAN. The indictment against John Bunyan ran thus: "John Bunyan hath devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, and contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord and king." He was convicted, and imprisoned twelve and a half years.

[From the New-Bedford Gazette.]

In New-Orleans, men fire at each other in the Senate House, but in Mississippi, disputes are settled with pistols at the *table d'hote*.

"Mr. Snooks, I'll trouble you for a slice of that beef."

"No trouble at all, sir; but excuse me until I shoot the doctor, who is sitting at the head of the table. [Fires, and blows a stranger's brains out.] Ah! bless my soul, pardon me, my good friend. I beg you won't mind my awkwardness—that bullet was intended for the doctor, not for you; but *n'importe*. Boy, a glass of brandy."

So says the Manchester (Miss.) Herald, who appeared to take the thing quite as coolly as the parties above referred to. The editor in continuation says: "Street fights meet with due reprobation; but a fight at a dinner table with pistols charged with buck shot and split bullets is unpardonable." Really! quite ungenteel, is it not Mr. Herald! And quite—particularly, as we may say—hem!—yes, very!

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